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LETTER DATED 4 NOVEMBER 1992 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Seventy days have elapsed since the London Conference ended. This Conference was heralded by its sponsors as a tremendous benefit to, and a reversal in the tragic fortunes of, the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Exactly the opposite has been the unfortunate outcome.

As a major achievement of the Conference, the Belgrade Government and its allies in Bosnia and Herzegovina (including Karadzic personally) committed to honour certain very basic human rights and to stop or at least reduce aggression. The commitments were unequivocal, unconditional and solemnly signed. They were the basis for the Conference sponsors to induce a plan of negotiations when more resolute action from the sponsors was appropriate and necessary.

- The Conference sponsors heralded a commitment from the Serbians to stop ethnic cleansing. Ethnic cleansing has since been intensified, and the United Nations Special Rapporteur, former Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, has clearly reported that widespread human rights violations have not only continued but have worsened dramatically. Five hundred fifty thousand new Bosnians have been forced from their homes (almost 8,000 for each day since the end of the London Conference). Tens of thousands have been murdered as part of the ethnic cleansing campaign. The Special Rapporteur indicated that "ethnic cleansing does not appear to be the consequence of the war but rather its goal. Their goal, to a large extent, has already been achieved through killings, beatings, rape, destruction of houses and threats". He added that the Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina are "virtually threatened with extermination" unless action is taken to save them before winter.

- The Conference sponsors heralded a commitment to close all the Serbian concentration camps. The camps remain open, and their civilian inhabitants suffer through continued starvation, exposure,

disease, torture and systematic murder. Unbelievably, new civilian inmates forcibly taken from their homes are added daily. Meanwhile, as documented by international observers and media, inmates, supposedly on their way to be released or relocated, have been executed by the bus-load.

- The Conference sponsors heralded a commitment by the Belgrade regime and its surrogates to stop all military flights over Bosnia and Herzegovina. Air attacks against our towns have in fact intensified since the London Conference, and today helicopters are more active than ever in conducting rocket and machine-gun attacks, and supply missions. Meanwhile, the Conference sponsors have shown themselves lacking the will to employ enforcement measures.

- The Conference sponsors heralded a unilateral and unconditional Serbian commitment to place their heavy weapons around four cities (Bihac, Gorazde, Jajce and Sarajevo), under United Nations control. These artillery and tanks continue to relentlessly pound our cities. Most ominously, Jajce has been attacked more severely than ever before, and as a direct consequence the civilian population and defenders, having run out of ammunition, were forced to abandon their homes and defensive positions.

- The Conference heralded a Serbian commitment not to use heating, electricity and food as weapons. Our civilian population has suffered extended disruptions of heating gas, electricity and food caused by deliberate Serbian shelling, blockage and disruptions. Foreshadowing a far greater calamity, some civilians have already starved or frozen to death in certain outlying towns.

- The Conference heralded an intensified effort to deliver humanitarian aid and an agreement by Serbians to cooperate and not block delivery. More recently, the United Nations, the International Committee of the Red Cross and other international monitors have estimated that up to 400,000 Bosnians will die this winter just from starvation, exposure and disease. Since these estimates were made, relief supplies continue to come in at only a fraction of what is needed and are continually impeded by the Serbians. Most ominously, daily, more of our citizens, like those at Jajce, are made refugees and therefore more vulnerable to hunger, exposure and disease, ultimately placing a higher demand on the already overwhelmed relief supply system.

The latest intensification of the aggression against our citizens has specifically been initiated since the Geneva Conference Co-Chairmen, the Honourable Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen, proposed their constitutional framework for Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina has unequivocally accepted the principles outlined in this framework. On the other hand, the Serbians have only stepped up their aggression to underscore their opposition to the principles of secular

democracy and tolerance outlined in the framework and, most critically, to pre-empt any negotiated and constitutional arrangement by completing their conquest and ethnic cleansing of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Unless urgent steps are taken to stop this aggression, to implement existing Security Council and General Assembly resolutions and to enforce the London Conference commitments, the noble efforts of the Co-Chairmen will become overcome by blatant military force, and the constitutional framework will become irrelevant.

In view of the above, we request that you schedule a formal Security Council meeting with the right of full debate on the matter as soon as practicable.

May I ask for your kind assistance in circulating this letter as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Muhamed SACIRBEY
Ambassador and
Permanent Representative